

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 002241

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, MARR

SUBJECT: TURKISH BASE NEGOTIATIONS

REF: ANKARA 0050

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM HARTMAN

1. RE PARA 1 REFTTEL, LANGUAGE RECORDED FOR THIS PORTION OF SECRETARY'S DECEMBER 12 BILATERAL WITH CAGLAYANGIL IN BRUSSELS INDICATES FOLLOWING: CAGLAYANGIL ASKED WHETHER US AND TURKEY COULD CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT OUTSIDE OF NATO AGREEMENT THAT WOULD "REJECT ALL AGGRESSION." THE SECRETARY QUESTIONED WHETHER SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD BE NECESSARY, AND CAGLAYANGIL REPLIED THAT HE MUST "BE ABLE TO TELL SOMETHING FOR PUBLIC OPINION." THE SECRETARY REPLIED, "I WANT TO THINK ABOUT THAT." HE SAID HE DID NOT EXCLUDE OUR STATING A SPECIAL US INTEREST IN TURKEY AND SUGGESTED THAT "WE CAN MAKE REFERENCE TO OUR CONCERN FOR TURKEY'S SECURITY AS A FACT, OR WE COULD REAFFIRM THE NATO COMMIT-

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MENT AS PART OF A SEPARATE AGREEMENT." YAVUZALP COMMENTED,

"WE DID THAT IN 1969, BUT NOW THE MINISTER (CAGLAYANGIL) WANTS SOMETHING MORE SPECIFIC." CAGLAYANGIL THEN SAID: "WE CAN DISCUSS THIS LATER" AND THE SECRETARY SAID HE WOULD HAVE NO TROUBLE IN SAYING THE SECURITY OF TURKEY IS ESSEN-

TIAL TO THE SECURITY OF AMERICA AND THE FREE WORLD. THERE WAS NO FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THIS ITEM.

2. RE PARA 2 REFTTEL, IT APPEARS THAT TEZEL MISUNDERSTOOD IF HE BELIEVES THE SECRETARY AND CAGLAYANGIL CAME TO A GENERAL AGREEMENT ON SOME BASIC PRINCIPLES. IT IS LIKELY THAT HE WAS REFERRING TO THE DISCUSSION AS A WHOLE IN WHICH CAGLAYANGIL SUMMED UP HIS ARGUMENTS BY SAYING HE NEEDED TWO CATEGORIES OF SUPPORT: (1) TO MAINTAIN TURKISH FORCES AT NECESSARY LEVEL AND (2) SUPPORT BECAUSE OF ADDITIONAL US INSTALLATIONS IN TURKISH TERRITORY. IN REPLY THE SECRETARY SAID THE US COULD NOT ESTABLISH THE PRINCIPLE THAT WE PAY FOR THE NATO RELATIONSHIP. HE SAID IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO ESTABLISH COMMITMENTS OVER A FIVE YEAR PERIOD, BUT FUNDS WOULD HAVE TO BE APPROPRIATED EVERY YEAR BY CONGRESS. HE ADDED THAT AN AGREEMENT COULD BE SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS, BUT THERE WAS NO WAY TO PROVIDE A 100 PERCENT GUARANTEE THAT ASSISTANCE WOULD BE FORTHCOMING. LATER YAVUZALP SAID TURKEY MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO SUSPEND OPERATIONS IF THE AGREED AMOUNT IS NOT PAID TO WHICH THE SECRETARY REPLIED: "THAT IS INHERENT IN THE AGREEMENT. WE MUST FIND A FORMULA BASED ON MUTUAL DEFENSE NOT ON THE US BUYING BASES."

3. YOU WILL NOTE THAT THE COMMENTS IN PARA 2 ABOVE WERE A DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE AVENUES OF APPROACH AND DID NOT CONSTITUTE A COMMITMENT TO ANY SPECIFIC COURSE OF ACTION. KISSINGER

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